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THE INFLUENCE OF ENGLISH LITERATURE ON FRIEDRICH VON HAGEDORN

II

Before considering his poetry, I desire to emphasize that in tracing influences I shall regard as the most important, not verbal parallelisms in writing, but a kinship of spirit between the writers considered. Not only is this a correct method of procedure in general for such a study, but it is particularly so in the case of Hagedorn, who expressed himself on the subject of tracing influences in no uncertain terms:

Die schönste Übereinstimmung zwischen zwei Dichtern beruhet so wenig auf Worten, als die edelste Freundschaft. Geist und Herz sind in den besten Alten und Neuern die lebendigen, oder vielmehr die einzigen Quellen des glücklichen Ausdrucks gewesen. Er leidet zum öftern unter dem Joche einer blinden Folge und kümmerlichen Knechtschaft. Man sollte nachahmen, wie Boileau und Lafontaine nachgeahmt haben. Jener pflegte davon zu sagen: *Cela ne s'appelle pas imiter; c'est jouter contre son original.*¹

Hagedorn quotes Pope also, another of his models:

Es fällt mir aber hierbey ein, was dieser [Pope] in der Vorrede zu seinen Werken, anmerkt: es könnten diejenigen, welche sagen dürfen, dass unsere Gedanken nicht eigenthümlich unser sind, weil sie mit den Gedanken der Alten eine Aenlichkeit haben, eben so gut behaupten, dass auch unsere Gesichter uns nicht eigentlich zugehören, weil sie den Gesichtern unserer Väter gleich sehen.²

Since it is evident that the characteristics which Hagedorn attributes to Pope as an imitator are the very ones which he has striven to attain, it is important to quote him further:³

Aber der Character dieses vortrefflichen Poeten ist gewiss nicht in der gewöhnlichen Nachahmung zu suchen. Keiner ist reicher an eignen, neuen Gedanken, glücklicher im Ausdrücke, edler in Gesinnungen. So gar seine Nachahmungen aus dem Horaz⁴ sind meisterhafte, freie Originale. Es ist

¹ Introduction to the *Moralische Gedichte*, *Werke*, I, xviii.

² *Werke*, I, xxx ff.

³ *Ibid.*, I, xxxii.

⁴ The appeal which Pope made to Hagedorn was due not only to his interest in Deism, but quite as much to his admiration of Boileau, and of Horace, Hagedorn's favorite among all the writers both ancient and modern.

ein Muster der besten Nacheiferung, und bekräftigt uns eine Wahrheit, die ich für jetzt so verdeutschen möchte:

Wer nimmer sagen will, was man zuvorgesagt,
Der wagt, dies ist sein Loos, was niemand nach ihm wagt.¹

Thus, in order to do justice to Hagedorn it is necessary to keep constantly in mind his idea of making his imitations not merely verbal, but "meisterhafte, freye Originale," as he called Pope's. This is fundamental for our purpose, not only in the consideration of his *Moralische Gedichte*, but of his other works as well.

HAGEDORN'S LANGUAGE AND METER

The form which Hagedorn chose for the *Moralisches Gedicht*, an outgrowth of the moral essays, is an innovation in German literature; for the German moralists preceding him had employed prose as their medium. It is significant, not only that Hagedorn employed verse, but also that he used in three of his moral poems the iambic pentameter, the form in which the *Essay on Man* was written. In one of these poems, *Horaz* (1751), he uses the heroic couplet throughout, while in the other two, *Der Gelehrte* (1740) and *Der Weise* (1741), he employs it at the close of each stanza.² In his use of the heroic couplet, as far as I have been able to ascertain, he is an innovator, borrowing from English literature and incorporating into that of his own country a form which has since been popularly employed there to the present day.

Five of the *Moralische Gedichte* are written in iambic hexameter, *Wünsche aus einem Schreiben an einen Freund* (1745),³ *Die Glückseligkeit* (1743), *Der Schwätzer, nach dem Horaz* (1744), *Schreiben an einen Freund* (1747), and *Die Freundschaft* (1748), the last four being in couplets. The iambic tetrameter is employed for the poem *Über Eigenschaften Gottes* (1744), and for the *Allgemeines Gebet nach Pope*

¹ "It is generally the fate of such people, who will never say what has been said before, to say what will never be said after them."—*Observations on Homer*.

² In passing, I may add that three of Hagedorn's *Epigrammatische Gedichte* are written in the heroic couplet, *An einen Mahler*, *An Murzuphlus*, and *Wohlthaten*, while a fourth, *Rath*, is in the iambic pentameter.

³ In assigning the date 1745 to the poem, *Wünsche, aus einem Schreiben an einen Freund, vom Jahre 1733*, I am following the chronological arrangement of Eschenburg (Hagedorn's *Werke*, IV, 75), who states that the poem first appeared in the sixth volume of the *Poesie der Niedersachsen* (1738) and was published in an enlarged and improved form in 1745. It would be interesting to know what reason Frick (*op. cit.*, p. 2) has for dating the poem 1743.

(1742) the eight-foot trochaic verse, which Brockes and Triller had helped to popularize.

An illustration of Hagedorn's desire to give a free rendering of his original may be noted in this translation from Pope. Strictly speaking, it is not a translation, but an adaptation of Pope's poem, for the use of the long verse made it necessary for him to introduce some material which is not in the original. To illustrate his freedom in this translation, it will suffice to quote a single stanza (I, 1):

Herr und Vater aller Wesen, aller Himmel, aller Welten,
 Aller Zeiten, aller Völker! Ewiger! Herr Zebaoth!
 Die Verehrung schwacher Menschen kann dein Wohlthun nicht vergelten,
 Gott, dem alle Götter weichen! Unaussprechlich grosser Gott!¹

The purity and beauty of the language which Hagedorn uses here should be praised, but for the epigrammatic quality of Pope's verse, which Hagedorn learned to imitate, we must turn to other poems, for instance to *Die Glückseligkeit*, his next poem.

Anyone who is familiar with Pope's didactic writing will not long doubt the source of such epigrams as the following:

"Es ist das wahre Glück an keinen Stand gebunden."—*Werke*, I, 19.

"Ein Kaiser könnte Sklav, ein Sklave Kaiser seyn."²—*Ibid.*, I, 19.

"Der Reichthum, der vertheilt so vielen Nützen würde,
 Und aufgethürmtes Gold, sind eine todte Bürde."—*Ibid.*, I, 29.

"Was ist die Weisheit denn, die wenigen gemein?
 Sie ist die Wissenschaft, in sich beglückt zu seyn.
 Was aber ist das Glück? Was alle Thoren meiden:
 Der Zustand wahrer Lust und dauerhafter Freuden."—*Ibid.*, I, 20 f.

"Der Arbeit süsser Lohn, die so viel Gutes schafft,
 Der Schlaf, des Todes Bild, und doch des Lebens Kraft."—*Ibid.*, I, 33.

"Nur Tugend, die allein die Seelen mehrhaft macht,
 Wird durch Gefahr und Noth nie um den Sieg gebracht."—*Ibid.*, I, 33.

"Die Weisheit wählet oft, um diesen nachzugehen,
 Den niedern Aufenthalt, und nicht umwölkte Höhen."—*Ibid.*, I, 34.

¹ Father of all! in every age,
 In every clime ador'd,
 By Saint, by Savage, and by Sage,
 Jehovah, Jove, or Lord!

Hagedorn had the original printed with his translation of the poem.

² The element of antithesis marked here will be recalled as characteristic of Pope's style.

It will not be difficult, in view of Hagedorn's use of the above epigrams, to convince anyone conversant with German literature of Hagedorn's period that he introduced into it a new element. It is a far cry from the diffuse form of expression used by the leading German writers of the time to the concise language quoted above. One of the most striking examples of this diffuseness is Brockes' translation of the *Essay on Man*.¹ Yet he too was deeply interested in English literature and enthusiastic in his admiration of Pope. But Hagedorn was the first German writer who was able to reject the lumbering diffuseness of contemporary German literature and to imitate successfully Pope's compactness of style.² The service thus rendered to German poetry by Hagedorn in introducing this new manner of writing has not been given sufficient emphasis by students of German-English relations in the eighteenth century.

Later we find the epigrammatic quality very marked in *Die Freundschaft*. The following are typical:

"Die wahre Freundschaft ist die Tugend Meistertück."—*Werke*, I, 70.

"Die echte Zärtlichkeit, die immer Lust und Schmerz
Mit andern willig theilt, kömmt in kein schlechtes Herz,
Und Helden, welche mir vor tausend Siegern preisen,
Sind Helden, die sich auch, als Freunde, gross erweisen."

—*Ibid.*, I, 71.

"Das süsse Vorurtheil, das holder Umgang giebt,
Macht, dass man nie zu sehr geprüfte Freunde liebt.
Ein Freund wird voller Glimpf des Freundes Fehler tragen,
Nur Frost und Falschheit nicht, den Grund befugter Klagen."

—*Ibid.*, I, 76.

Hagedorn's development in conciseness of style is observed by comparing his *Shriftmässige Betrachtungen über einige Eigenschaften Gottes* with his rendering of Pope's *Universal Prayer*, written but two years earlier. In this poem he uses the iambic tetrameter with the compact end-stopped line prevailing. It imitates the style of the *Universal Prayer* far more closely than does Hagedorn's translation of that poem.

¹ His translation appeared in 1740.

² By comparing Hagedorn's poems written after his sojourn in England with those written before it becomes evident that this conciseness which he developed comes largely from English literature.

The fact that he did not employ the heroic couplet throughout a long moral poem¹ until 1751 when he composed his *Horaz*² indicates further that the influence of the verse form of Pope and his school upon that of our poet gradually increased.³

In this poem Hagedorn attains a uniformly concise style, which surpasses that in his earlier moral writing, and which most nearly approaches Pope's conciseness. This can be seen best in such a stanza as the following:

Horaz, mein Freund, mein Lehrer, mein Begleiter,
Wir gehn aufs Land. Die Tage sind schon heiter;
So wie anjetzt die Furcht der blinden Nacht
Ein heller Mond uns minder nächtlich macht,
Es herrscht das Licht, und alle Lüfte geben
Der frohen Welt das eigentliche Leben.
Die rechte Lust kömmt mit der Frühlingszeit.
Natur und Mensch sind voll Gefälligkeit.
Ihr unerkauften, unerfochtenen Freuden!
Sucht keine Pracht: die Pracht muss euch beneiden.
Des Daseyns Trost, das Recht vergnügt zu seyn,
Der Kenner Glück macht Lenz und Witz gemein.⁴

In the foregoing it will be noted that each of five successive verses contains a complete sentence. A comparison of this passage with almost any of equal length from Hagedorn's contemporary, Bodmer, makes clear to the reader that a new influence—one for epigrammatic conciseness—was at work in German literature.

When we recall how few modern Germans write in a clear, concise style, the achievement of Hagedorn seems all the greater, for he had to break with both his predecessors and his contemporaries. And whenever Germany does give Hagedorn his just reward, it should not forget the English writers whom he never tired of reading and imitating.

¹ See above, p. 180.

² The use of the heroic couplet at the close of each stanza in both *Der Gelehrte* and *Der Weise*, several years before *Horaz*, was a step in that direction.

³ Evidently Frick (*op. cit.*, p. 2) was not taking into consideration the form of Pope's verse when he stated that the influence of the latter upon Hagedorn began to wane after the publication of *Glückseligkeit*.

⁴ *Werke*, I, 97.

HAGEDORN'S PHILOSOPHY OF HAPPINESS

In the very first lines of the poem, *Wünsche aus einem Schreiben an einen Freund*, is expressed the essence of Hagedorn's philosophic thought, the essence of Deism as well:

Um diese Pilgerschaft vergnüglich zu vollenden,
Die mich von der Geburt bis zur Verwesung bringt,
Darf Ehre, Schein und Wahn nie meine Seele blenden,
Die nicht mit Träumen spielt, und nach dem Wesen ringt.¹

This is the fundamental thought of this poem and of all Hagedorn's didactic writing. The important thing with him is the soul, which should not be blinded by any outside influences that might keep it from attaining its perfection. It is the same philosophy which Pope expressed in the Fourth Epistle of the *Essay on Man*, and it is the underlying thought in all his didactic poetry. In this connection take the following lines from the *Essay on Man*:²

What nothing earthly gives, or can destroy,
The soul's calm sunshine, and the heart-felt joy,
Is virtue's prize.

and again ll. 79-80:

Reason's whole pleasure, all the joys of sense,
Lie in three words, Health, Peace, and Competence.

The following lines from Hagedorn's *Wünsche*³ may have been suggested to him by the lines quoted above:

Es sey mein Ueberfluss, nicht vieles zu verlangen;
Mein Ruhm, mein liebster Ruhm, Vernunft und Billigkeit:
Soll ich ein Mehres noch, bald oder spät empfangen,
So steh ein Theil davon zu andrer Dienst bereit.

Pope made moderation the theme of the entire Third Epistle of his *Moral Essays*; it is significant that Hagedorn emphasized the same thought throughout his work.⁴

The second stanza of *Wünsche* is packed with ideas which were for him fundamental in all his writing (I, 38):

¹ *Werke*, I, 37.

² Ep. IV, ll. 167-69.

³ *Werke*, I, 37.

⁴ The following couplet from *Glückseligkeit* was cited as having the epigrammatic quality of Pope's. It will be noted that the theme also is his (I, 29):

Der Reichtum, der vertheilt so vielen Nützen würde,
Und aufgethürmtes Gold, sind eine todte Bürde.

Die Gegend reizt mich noch, wo bey den hellen Bächen
 Und in dem grünen Hain sich Ruh und Freyheit herzt.
 Dort konnt' ich mir selbst vertraulich mich besprechen,
 Wo keine Falschheit lacht, und keine Grobheit scherzt.
 Dort lebt ich unerreicht von Vorwitz und von Sorgen;
 Durch keinen Zwang gekrümmt, durch keinen Neid berückt,
 Der stillen Wahrheit treu, der Welt, nicht mir, verborgen,
 Und, Lust der Einsamkeit! genug durch dich beglückt.

The love of country, freedom, truth, meditation, and solitude are here contrasted with hatred of falsehood, rudeness, inquisitiveness, wrong, constraint, and envy. The ideas expressed in the stanza just quoted are the same as those which Thomson emphasizes all through the *Seasons*, which may well have been a source of *Wünsche*. To illustrate I quote *Autumn*, ll. 1235-49:

Oh! knew he but his happiness, of men
 The happiest he, who, far from public rage,
 Deep in the vale, with a choice few retired,
 Drinks the pure pleasures of the rural life.
 What though the dome be wanting, whose proud gate,
 Each morning vomits out the sneaking crowd
 Of flatterers false, and in their turn abused?
 Vile intercourse! What though the glittering robe
 Of every hue reflected light can give,
 Or floating loose, or stiff with massy gold,
 The pride and gaze of fools, oppress him not?
 What though, from utmost land and sea purveyed,
 For him each rarer tributary life
 Bleeds not, and his insatiate table heaps
 With luxury and death?

It is at least an interesting coincidence that Thomson, in the passage quoted, has included practically every idea found in Hagedorn's *Wünsche*: the same love of country life with its quiet, innocent pleasures, moderation, health, friendship, and leisure for meditation, and its freedom from treachery, flattery, falsehood, pride, inquisitiveness, and ostentation. Note also ll. 1273-77:

Here too dwells simple truth, plain innocence,
 Unsullied beauty, sound unbroken youth,
 Patient of labour, with a little pleased,
 Health ever-blooming, unambitious toil,
 Calm contemplation, and poetic ease.

It is somewhat surprising that up to the present no one seems to have considered Hagedorn in connection with Thomson, yet it is universally admitted that the influence of the latter upon Hagedorn's contemporaries was very great. It suffices to mention Brockes' *Irdisches Vergnügen in Gott*,¹ Haller's *Die Alpen* (1732), Kleist's *Frühling* (1749), Wieland's *Frühling* (1752), and Zachariä's *Togesezeiten* (1755) in this connection. That Hagedorn knew Thomson is proved by letters from Bodmer and Ebert referring to him.² Then, since Hagedorn was a voluminous reader of English as well as of German books, there is every probability that he knew Thomson's works soon after they appeared. The promptness with which Hagedorn read English books is easily seen by comparing his notes upon them with the dates of publications in any bibliographical manual. And since both Bodmer and Ebert conceded to Hagedorn the leadership in matters of English, the fact that they had read Thomson makes it very probable that Hagedorn also had read him.³ Furthermore, since he had read many English authors who are known to us only by name, and who at the time were probably not read by many English people, it is extremely improbable that he would have failed to read an English author who was as well known in Germany as Thomson. Hagedorn's intimate acquaintance with Brockes during the years in which the latter was especially influenced by Thomson⁴ also points to Hagedorn's acquaintance with the English poet. Moreover, the similarity in interests would naturally have drawn Hagedorn to Thomson, since both turned to Horace for inspiration.

Though Hagedorn's idea of happiness is revealed in his *Wünsche*, it is expressed even more in detail in his poem, *Die Glückseligkeit*. Like the Fourth Epistle of the *Essay on Man*, this poem emphasizes

¹ Although Brockes commenced this work as early as 1721, it was not completed until after he knew Thomson's *Seasons*, which was completed by 1730.

² Bodmer in Hagedorn's *Werke*, V, 172; Ebert, *ibid.*, V, 259, 262, 266.

³ Hagedorn's generosity in sending English books to his friends has been mentioned previously. Despite the fact that one finds very few instances of Bodmer's sending a book to Hagedorn, the following indicates an established custom of Hagedorn's of forwarding books to his friend: "Die trefflichen Bücher, womit Sie Ihrer Gewohnheit nach, Ihren Brief begleitet haben, erhielten mich den ganzen Sommer durch aufgeräumt, und werden mir auch den Winter angenehm machen" (Hagedorn's *Werke*, V, 207, September 10, 1748).

⁴ Brockes' translation of *The Seasons* appeared in 1744.

that anyone can find true happiness and that it is attained through contentment, peace of mind, moderation, and a sufficient competence, not through riches, learning, fame, or power. Hagedorn insists that only the wise can be happy, while Pope urges that only the virtuous can be happy, but with the two poets these ideas are almost identical.

The chief idea which *Glückseligkeit* has in common with Pope's Third Epistle of the *Moral Essays* is that wealth brings happiness, not to the spendthrift or miser,¹ but only to the one who disperses it by giving or spending it wisely. And the Fourth Epistle of the *Moral Essays* furnished Hagedorn with the following ideas: Much wealth is wasted in laying out and adorning gardens, and in building and furnishing houses, by people who lack taste and culture. The only redeeming feature about this expense is that artists are benefited by the patronage which it gives them. Briefly, in imitating Pope, Hagedorn introduced the views of the former concerning human happiness into Germany and thus assisted in spreading there the philosophy of the English Deists.

In addition to the debt which in *Glückseligkeit* he owes to Pope's *Essay on Man* and the *Moral Essays*, which has already been pointed out by Frick,² its negative features show some significant parallelism with Prior's *Solomon on the Vanity of the World*. Both poets came to the conclusion that learning, pleasure, and power in themselves fail to bring true happiness.

That Hagedorn knew Prior is shown by his numerous translations of the latter's epigrams and tales, which he made soon after returning from England. Although Wukadinović³ devotes considerable attention to Hagedorn, he overlooks him entirely in his discussion of the influence which Prior's *Solomon* had in Germany. In his study Wukadinović adequately treats of translations and verbal imitations of Prior in Germany; but in the case of Prior's influence on Hagedorn it is inadequate, according to Hagedorn's own standard, to

¹ His representation of the miser and the spendthrift in contrast with each other and his expression concerning the futility of both has its parallel also in Parnell's *Hermite*. Further, in connection with Hagedorn's characterization of the miser, in a footnote to I, 23 ff., he cites *Henry VI*, III, ii, 3:

And happy was it always for the son,
Whose father for his hoarding went to hell.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 1.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 1.

deal merely with translations and verbal similarities, and that is all Wukadinović attempts to do. The evidence in support of Prior's influence upon Hagedorn in this poem is increased by the fact that Hagedorn added to it the fable of the *Country Mouse and City Mouse*, a collaboration of Prior and Charles Montagu.¹

Although *Glückseligkeit* has much in common with Prior's *Solomon*, in spirit it is much more closely related to Addison's philosophy as revealed in his essays. Thus the *Spectator*, No. 15, reads:

True happiness is of a retired nature, and an enemy to pomp and noise: . . . in short, it feels everything it wants within itself, and receives no addition from multitudes of witnesses and spectators. On the contrary, false happiness loves to be in a crowd, to draw the eyes of the world upon her. . . . She flourishes in courts, palaces, theatres and assemblies, and has no existence but when she is looked upon.

Again, in *Spectator*, No. 243, "On the Beauty and Loveliness of Virtue," Addison defines his attitude toward virtue as the same as that which has been attributed to Hagedorn:

I do not remember to have read any discourse written expressly upon the beauty and loveliness of virtue, without considering it as a duty, and as the means of making us happy both now and hereafter. I design, therefore, this speculation as an essay upon that subject, in which I shall consider virtue no further than as it is in itself of an amiable nature.

It is significant that Hagedorn proclaimed for the first time in Germany, just as Addison did in England, the beauty and loveliness of virtue without considering it as a duty.² The German moral weeklies almost invariably emphasized the idea of duty in connection with virtue. It is of great consequence to find that Hagedorn's attitude toward virtue is the same as that of Addison and his school; but it is of greater consequence to observe that in assuming this attitude Hagedorn was following an English literary fashion of the Queen Anne period, and that he was popularizing it in German literature. Thus Hagedorn stood as an innovator³ in presenting virtue in

¹ This was written in 1687 to ridicule Dryden's *Hind and Panther*. Prior is supposed to have written the greater part of it.

² The joy which Hagedorn found in virtue is paralleled also in Thomson's *Winter*, ll. 555-71.

³ In their Anacreontic poetry Gleim and his followers, Uz, Götz, and Jacobi, owed much to Hagedorn, just as Pyra and Lange were indebted to Haller. In learning to write this cheerful type of poetry Hagedorn was in turn indebted to Prior, as has been shown by Wukadinović, *op. cit.*, pp. 25, 27, 30. This will receive further discussion in a later section.

a cheerful aspect and in believing that every man could make of himself what he would.¹ In this he was a forerunner of Goethe.

Hagedorn was more interested in a faith which made life quiet and happy here than one which concerned itself mainly with the future. His *Ueber Eigenschaften Gottes* is in perfect keeping with the religion of the Deists. The first five pages being devoted to the greatness of God and the last two to his goodness, he might have selected for its text the second stanza of Pope's *Universal Prayer*:

Thou great first Cause, least understood:
Who all my sense confin'd
To know but this, that Thou art good,
And that myself am blind.

The fact that Pope was a Catholic and Hagedorn a Protestant was no barrier to their religious sympathy. Even in English literature the expressions of religion which come from Addison and Pope are not unlike, although formally they represent the two great opposing religious bodies. Deism had the power of uniting in a practical belief people of very different religious organizations, and it appealed strongly to Hagedorn. He thought that to gain the greatest happiness in this life the soul, unblinded by external things, must strive constantly for its highest development. Then we can look forward to death as a quiet sleep:

Darf ich mir noch ein Glück zum letzten Ziel erlesen;
So stell' im Scheiden sich bey mir kein Schrecken ein:
Und wie bisher mein Schlaf des Todes Bild gewesen;
So müss' auch einst mein Tod dem Schlummer ähnlich seyn!²

This philosophy coincides with that of Thomson as expressed in *Winter* (ll. 1039-46):

Virtue alone survives,
Immortal, never-failing friend of man,
His guide to happiness on high. And see!
'Tis come, the glorious morn, the second birth
Of heaven and earth. Awakening nature hears

¹ Cf. Hermann Schuster, *Friedrich von Hagedorn und seine Bedeutung für die deutsche Literatur* (Leipzig, 1882), p. 19: "Hagedorn war bei uns der erste, der die Tugend zum Werthe der allgemeinen und höchsten Lebensschönheit erhob und sie als das heitere Glück darstellte, wodurch das Dasein verklärt und jeder der Künstler seines Lebens würde."

² *Wünsche, Werke*, I, 40.

The new-creating word, and starts to life
 In every heightened form, from pain and death
 For ever free.¹

LEARNING

Hagedorn's poems, *Der Gelehrte* and *Der Weise*, present two contrasting types, *Der Gelehrte*² being a satire on the scholar who busies himself in mere quibbling in the hope of attracting attention to himself, *Der Weise*, a eulogy on the man who seeks truth, making it the basis of life. The "Gelehrter" is characterized³ as a person who finds his greatest happiness in literary controversies, in which he hopes to win distinction. The "Weiser," on the other hand, is represented⁴ as a searcher for truth, who cares nothing for fame or the favor of princes.

According to Schmid, the "Gelehrter" was not an uncommon character in Germany at that time:⁵ "Ich glaube eben nicht, dass dieses geistreiche Gedicht durch besondere Umstände veranlasst worden, wie einige behaupten wollen. Zu jeder Zeile kann man Beispiele aus den heutigen Tagen hinzu schreiben."

One needs only recall the literary controversy between the Leipzig and Swiss poets to realize something of the literary atmosphere in Germany at that time.⁶ With this situation in mind, it is significant on turning again to *Der Weise* to note the impression which the English spirit had made upon Hagedorn:

Wie edel ist die Neigung echter Britten!
 Ihr Ueberfluss bereichert den Verstand.
 Der Handlung Frucht, und was ihr Muth erstritten,
 Wird, unbereut, Verdiensten zugewandt;
 Gunst krönt den Fleiss, den Macht und Freyheit schützen:
 Die Reichsten sind des Wissenschaften Stützen.
 O Freyheit! dort, nur dort ist deine Wonne,
 Der Städte Schmuck, der Segen jeder Flur,
 Stark wie das Meer, erquickend wie die Sonne,
 Schön wie das Licht, und reich wie die Natur.⁷

¹ As a matter of interest I note that this coincides with Horace also.

² Christian Heinrich Schmid, *Biographie der Dichter* (Leipzig, 1770), II, 381, called this poem "die meisterhafte Ironie auf alle Pedantereyen unsrer Zunft."

³ *Werke*, I, 80.

⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 16.

⁵ Schmid, *op. cit.*, II, 381.

⁶ It should be mentioned here that Hagedorn kept himself entirely aloof from this strife, which he considered undignified and futile. See letter to Weichmann of September 4, 1741, *Werke*, V, 17-18.

⁷ *Werke*, I, 16.

It is significant, also, that at this time, when Hagedorn's contemporaries wished to be regarded as learned, he declined to be called a "Gelehrter."¹ In his introduction to the *Moralische Gedichte* he wrote:

Sie wissen, dass ich, von Jugend auf, am Lesen ein grosses Vergnügen gefunden habe, und dieses vermehrt sich bei mir mit den Jahren. Allein, ich habe nimmer ein Mnemon seyn, noch auf das Polyhistorat Ansprüche zu machen, mich nur gelehrter lesen wollen. Vielmehr habe ich es oft für eine nicht geringe Glückseligkeit gehalten, dass es niemals mein Beruf gewesen ist, noch seyn können, ein Gelehrter zu heissen, und wie vieles mangelt mir, um diesem Namen, und dessen Folgen gewachsen zu seyn? Dafür habe ich die beruhigende Erlaubniss, bei den Spaltungen und Fehden der Gelehrten nichts zu entscheiden. Meine müssigen Stunden geniessen der erwünschten Freyheit, mich in den Wissenschaften nur mit dem zu beschäftigen, was mir schön, angenehm und betrachtungswürdig ist.²

In this connection it should be mentioned that in the introduction to his *Moralische Gedichte* Hagedorn supports his views on this subject in several instances with quotations from Pope's *Essay on Criticism*, his *Observations on Homer*, and his letters. One from which Hagedorn quotes³ is pertinent here: "I would cut off my own head, if it had nothing better than wit in it, and tear out my own heart, if it had no better dispositions than to love only myself, and laugh at my neighbors."⁴

Another of the English poets who realized the inadequacy of mere learning was Prior. This he emphasized especially in his *Solomon*⁵ where he states that the little knowledge gained only bewilders the mind. Prior conceives Solomon's logicians as typical of those in the eighteenth century:

Soon their crude notions with each other fought,
The adverse sect denied what this had taught;
Who contradicted what the last maintained.⁶

¹ In Henneberger's *Jahrbuch für deutsche Literatur*, I, 92, Karl Schmitt makes an interesting statement regarding this: "Er ist wohl der erste Poet seit Opitzens Auftreten, der einen klaren Begriff des Unterschieds zwischen einem durchbildeten Dichter und Gelehrten nicht gehalten worden, während seine Vorgänger nichts mehr beleidigt haben würde, als ihnen diese Eigenschaft abzusprechen."

² *Werke*, I, 34.

³ Pope, *Letters to Several Ladies*, No. 19.

⁴ It has already been mentioned (see above, p. 186) that one of the fundamental thoughts in the Fourth Epistle of the *Essay on Man* is that happiness cannot be gained through learning.

⁵ Book I, ll. 739-42, also 748-53.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, Book I, ll. 717-20.

The evidence certainly suggests that this section of Prior's poem was one of the sources of Hagedorn's *Der Gelehrte*.

Hagedorn's scorn for mere pedantry is further expressed in his poem *Wünsche*:¹

Was nützt Belesenheit, was die Gedächtnissbürde,
Die Schreib- und Ruhmbegier aus tausend Büchern rafft?

In the preceding stanza of this poem Hagedorn expresses, as does Thomson in his *Winter* (ll. 431 f.), his love for his favorite authors. In these passages the two poets describe their pleasure in reading, each suggesting a solitary place where, free from disturbance, he may enjoy his books. Each emphasizes, first the ancient writers, and then the modern. In each case a group of the ancient writers is called up and characterized individually. In brief, the similarity of thoughts between the poets in these two selections is such as would readily be apparent even to the casual reader.

After discussing the writers whom they admire, both Hagedorn and Thomson state that learning in and of itself is of little value. According to them it is only when it moves the heart to the best deeds that it fulfils its highest purpose.

What gives passages like this fourth stanza² of Hagedorn's peculiar significance is that the battle between head and heart which had been carried on in literary circles in Germany throughout the seventeenth century was still being fought in the eighteenth century, and the Germans longed to see a reconciliation brought about. They were tired of mere quibbling. As a result Hagedorn's suggestion to unite sentiment with scholarship was most welcome. It is interesting for our purpose that here in another of his important innovations he gets his inspiration from the English.

In one of the opening stanzas of *Schreiben an einen Freund* Hagedorn again states that he does not wish to be learned, but longs for quiet contentment:

Sie [meine Seele] wünscht sich nicht gelehrt, und
schöpft aus nahen Gründen
Den glücklichen Geschmack, die Tugend schön zu finden;

Werke, I, 39.

² "Freund, sei mit mir bedacht, die Kenntniss zu vergrössern,
Die unsern Neigungen die beste Richtschnur giebt;
Sonst wirst du den Verstand, und nicht das Herz, verbessern,
Das oft den Witz verwirrt, und nur den Irrthum liebt."

Und will des Daseyns werth, in Trieben nicht gemein,
Still in Zufriedenheit, und ohne Knechtschaft seyn.¹

However, though he has no desire to be a scholar, he does not undervalue wisdom. To ignorance he attributes superstition, fear, and a whole train of evils:

Stolz, Aberglaube, Zorn, Bewundrung, Geiz und Neid
Sind alles, was sie sind, nur durch Unwissenheit:
Der Strom der Bosheit quillt aus Wahn und Unverstande;
Ein Thor sucht blindlings Ruhm in Labyrinth der Schande,
Beugt ungescheut das Recht, und zittert vor Kometen.²

The connection which Hagedorn here observes between ignorance and fear had been previously remarked by Pope in his *Essay on Man*:

Force first made Conquest, and that conquest, Law;
'Til Superstition taught the tyrant awe.³

In *Glückseligkeit*⁴ Hagedorn expresses his belief that devotion to home and country are compatible with love of scholarship:

Doch sind wir, nach dem Zweck des Schöpfers aller Wesen,
Nur, um gelehrt zu seyn, zum Daseyn auserlesen?
Hat nicht an deinem Fleiss und wirksamen Verstand
Dein eignes Haus ein Recht, noch mehr dein Vaterland?

The fact that "book learning" and practical efficiency can be combined in the same person was a favorite idea with Hagedorn. One of his best friends in Hamburg, the physician Carpser, is called by Hagedorn the "Eheselden der Deutschen." Since Eheselden⁵ (1688-1752), the author of *Anatomy of the Human Body*, was a famous English surgeon and anatomist, the real honors go to the English again.

Hagedorn's sympathy with Swift in his utilitarian philosophy should be noted here, for Hagedorn in his expression of this philosophy acknowledged indebtedness to Swift:

Nutzt nich der grobe Pflug, die Egge mehr dem Staat,
Als ihm ein Fernglas nutzt, was dir entdeckt hat,
Wie von Cassini Schnee, von Huygens weisser Erde
Im fernen Jupiter ein Land gefärbet werde?

¹ *Werke*, I, 41.

² Ep. III, ll. 245-46.

³ *Ibid.*, I, 44 ff.

⁴ *Werke*, I, 24.

⁵ Cf. Eschenburg in Hagedorn's *Werke*, IV, 921 ff.

Sah nicht ein Sokrates aufs menschliche Geschlecht,
 Und hatt' er etwa nicht bey seiner Strenge Recht,
 Die von der Wissenschaft der Sterne nichts behielte,
 Als was dem Feldebau half, und auf die Schifffahrt zielte?¹

Concerning the philosophy here expressed, Hagedorn wrote:

Ich erinnere mich hierbey einer Stelle Swift's in dem "Voyage to the Houyhnhnms," im 8 ten Cap. S. 215, wo Gulliver seinem vernünftigen Houyhnhnm von unsern unterschiedenen Lehrbegriffen in der Naturlehre Nachricht giebt: "In the like manner when I used to explain to him our several Systems of Natural Philosophy, he would laugh that a Creature pretending to Reason should value itself upon the Knowledge of other Peoples' Conjectures, and in things, where that Knowledge, if it were certain, could be of no use. Wherein he agreed entirely with the sentiments of Socrates, as Plato delivers them; which I mention as the highest honour I can do that Prince of Philosophers. I have often since reflected what destruction such a doctrine would make in the Libraries of Europe, and how many paths to Fame would be then shut up in the learned world."²

Hagedorn's interest in utilitarian philosophy connects him not only with Swift, but also with practically all the English writers of that time.³ But the essential thing which I wish to stress here concerning Hagedorn's attitude toward utilitarianism and scholarship in general, as I did in connection with his attitude toward happiness and virtue, is, not that he agrees with individual English writers in the expression of his ideas, but that he is in close sympathy with a whole movement in England and that he is the forerunner of this movement in Germany.

LOVE OF FREEDOM

In the lines of *Der Weise* beginning, "Wie edel ist die Neigung echter Britten!"⁴ Hagedorn expresses, not only his enthusiastic admiration for the English people, but his devotion to the cause of freedom as well. Such expressions as this are not to be found among Hagedorn's predecessors in Germany, for the poets were not free from the spirit of servility which the people showed toward their princes.⁵ It is only necessary to turn to Weichmann's *Poesie*

¹ *Werke*, I, 24 ff.

² *Ibid.*, I, 25, n. 10.

³ A good illustration of a work that would have made a strong appeal to Hagedorn and may quite possibly have been read by him is Defoe's *Essay on Projects* (1697).

⁴ *Werke*, I, 16.

⁵ Karl Biedermann, *Deutschland im 18. Jh.* (Leipzig, 1880), II, 14.

des Niedersachsen and note how large the proportion is of occasional poems in which the flattery of princes plays an important part, in order to realize how different was the spirit of Hagedorn's contemporaries. Among the contributors were included such men as Brockes and Richey, who were themselves interested in English literature, but it is significant that they left the leadership in this movement toward freedom to Hagedorn. That Hagedorn was not entirely free from this style of writing before going to England is shown in the poem, *Das frohlockende Russland* (1729). Not only is the spirit of servility, noticed in this poem, entirely lacking in everything which Hagedorn wrote after his stay in England, where he became "ein halber Engländer,"¹ but in addition, his hostility to flattery of princes is made very clear. The thought expressed in the bold lines beginning, "Wer heisst oft gross?"² is found repeatedly in his writings.

The only other name deserving mention in connection with this proclamation of liberty of thought in Germany is that of Haller; but although Haller in his poetry defends the cause of freedom, his influence for independence was not as great as Hagedorn's, because his style limited his popularity almost exclusively to scholars, while Hagedorn's poetry was readable among all classes.³

It is by no means impossible to believe that Hagedorn gained some confidence in expressing his love of freedom and hatred of servility from reading Thomson, since the English poet's writings are characterized throughout by the same spirit.

In a letter to Hagedorn from Bodmer⁴ and in one from Ebert,⁵ Thomson's poem *Liberty* (1734-36) is mentioned with enthusiastic praise. Despite the absence of reference to it in Hagedorn's pub-

¹ Cf. Letter from Hagedorn to Enderlein, in Hagedorn's *Werke*, V, 74, December 19, 1748.

² *Ibid.*, I, 16:

Wer heisst oft gross? Der schnell nach Ehren klettert,
Der Kühnheit hebt, die Höhe schwindlicht macht,
Doch wer ist gross? Der Fürsten nicht vergöttert,
Und edler denkt, als mancher Fürst gedacht.

³ The influence which Haller had upon his contemporaries and successors in promoting the cause of liberty of expression would make an interesting study by itself. Hermann Schuster (*op. cit.*) has made many interesting suggestions which are well worth working out.

⁴ *Werke*, V, 172, September 6, 1744.

⁵ *Ibid.*, V, 259, January 15, 1748.

lished letters, it is easy to believe, in view of his love of liberty, that he too read with enthusiasm this poem of Thomson's, but especially such expressions as are found in Part V, ll. 124-56, where there is the same insistence as in *Der Weise* upon an independence of spirit, which finds its highest enjoyment, not in wealth nor in the favor of the great, but in the inner peace and contentment which comes from a life of virtue, restraint, and companionship with the greatest minds. Thomson and Hagedorn agree that a soul will not yield to flattery and insinuating temptation while it is independent. Thus *Liberty* reads:

Unless corruption first deject the pride,
And guardian vigour of the free-born soul,
All crude attempts of violence are vain.¹

Hagedorn writes:

Die Schmeicheley legt ihre sanften Bande,
Ihr glattes Joch, nur eitlen Seelen an.
Unedler Ruhm und unverdiente Schande,
O waget euch an keinen Bidermann!²

The emphasis which Hagedorn places in the seventh stanza of his *Wünsche*³ upon maintaining innocence, cheerfulness, and health, and avoiding pride and delusion is not unlike that which Thomson⁴ gives to the same characteristics:

Nichts wähl' ich ausser dir, als, deiner zu geniessen,
Ein unverfälschtes Herz, ein immer heitres Haupt,
Wo aus zu grossem Glück nicht Stolz und Wahn entspriessen,
Noch ein zu grosses Leid mir Muth und Kräfte raubt.

In this connection it should be mentioned that Prior indicates the insinuating method which flattery uses in trying to destroy virtue.⁵

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[To be continued]

¹ Part II, 490-92.

² *Der Weise, Werke*, I, 18.

³ *Werke*, I, 39.

⁴ *Autumn*, ll. 1273-77; see above, p. 185.

⁵ Cf. *Solomon*, I, 692-98.